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Empty graves are disliked; they are a threat to the living. When a new vault is made—the rock-lined vaults of great chiefs take some time to construct, the grave of an ordinary man can be quickly dug—a stone or a wooden pillow will be put into it, lest the ghosts seek an inhabitant for it by taking off someone from among the living. It is related that when one of the Tui Tonga was being buried a *haa tufunga* man was imprisoned in the vault with him. The vault could not be opened to release him, for to do so would have meant that it was being opened to receive the newly appointed successor of the dead king. So the unlucky man was left in the vault to die. This man should have had certain duties in connection with the presentation of the *pongipongi* each morning, but his place was vacant. So a messenger went each morning for seven or eight days to the grave and reported the gifts that were brought, and the imprisoned *mata-pule* cried out the appropriate thanks. Then there came a day when no response was heard from the vault, and the living concluded that the man was dead, and a successor was appointed.

Where there is only a grave to be dug the digging is the last task undertaken in the preparation for the burial. Should a funeral have to be postponed to the day following that on which it was expected, although the grave has been dug, the grave is not left open over night, but is filled in, and re-opened the following day. There is a dislike to starting a new burial ground, lest the ghosts of the few buried there be lonely, and seek to increase their company.

Hocart (25) says that in Samoa he asked the question, "What is an *aitu?*" and got the answer, "The man who is dead." A Tongan girl whom I asked, "Who are the *tevolo?*" replied, "The people who are dead." These ghosts appear in various forms to the living. It is said that it was once the custom for the friends of a man who had died to come to the house where he had died, after his burial, and spread mats on the floor, and wait till some creature crawled on to the mats. This creature, whatever it might be, was carefully wrapped up, and taken away and kept. It was the dead man's spirit, *laumalie*. (For fuller details see 20; 28; 37; 40; 10, pp. 136-142.)

Song of Tukulua[1]

Na'e fa'u 'i he ene mahaki'ia

To e totoka peau hahano,
Langa hoto 'ofa ki he huni vao;
Malimali pe siale tuikako,
Kolo atu kuou to ki lalo.
Koe vaka e 'ikai kei ato
Ka koloto e mala ni kuo mao;

When the calm mists fall I am filled with yearning,
With welling desire for the forest *huni;*
Smiling are the wreaths of *siale,*[2]
I think of you, I who am fallen down.
The boat has not yet come to land,
But I cannot escape this fate that is planned;

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Kuo siaki'i e laolao,
Kae tali 'uli'i e 'aho hako.

Ko hotau vaka e kuo fano,
Pea motuhia e maea-lalo
He vaka ke hua hake kae hao

Kae fakaheka sioto manako.
Koe po kuluki taua'alo
'Ofa 'iate au kuo tovao,
Kuo tauholia ke mata-ngalo.
'Oku fai e ta'e fie mama'o,

Koe ta'e matuku 'o One-vao,
Moe eva he houma Niutao,
'O tolia he fa moe hingano.
Amusia ha vaka ne toe hapo,

Na'e 'osi fo'ou 'o 'uli fano
Mo au ni kuou to ki lalo.
Angi-'a-he
Oiaue, faka-ta'e-lata.
Neinei 'a pa'ulu e mana.
'Asi e uhila pea fakatapa,
Peau tokoto pe mo tokanga.
Angi-'a-he
Angi-'a-he
Kuo heka e pule 'ae malanga,
Keu 'alu ki Pulotu 'aka'aka,
Angi-'a-he
Kae tuku e fonua ko Mama.
Pea nofo e fuifui katafa.
Angi-'a-he
Pea mou tongia e nofo'anga
'Oka nunu e fangu moe kakala,
Angi-'a-he
'Oka fe'auhi lau-funga-vaka.
Ke 'oua e lahi e fakaanga—
Ka 'oku 'i ai ha 'ofa e taha
Mou tuitu'ua e heilala,
Kilikili 'o Fatai-langalanga
'Oka hoko e folau toko-taha;
'Ofo hoto sino mo ete anga
Ka tauholia kita 'e he mala,
Ho-he
Faka-toafa-kena.
Tuku vaka e folau,
Loka-foli Hakau Tapu,
Fasi Tuila mo Hu'angalau.

'Ofa 'ia vao hea Tonga e,
Mo Vao-makai nofo kau 'alu,
Lolohea fakaku pea natu
'Avea ko honau faka-lanu—
Faikehe'i tu'ukehe,

Calm has been left behind,
Through a day of storm must her way be steered.
Lo, our boat is at sea,'
And snapped is the mainsheet
Of the boat that must beat up, but will come to shore,
And embark my dear desire.
Oh night when the songs are chanted
Think kindly of me who am cast aside,
Who have been desired for forgetfulness.
There works in me the desire not to be absent.
Not to leave Onevao,'
And walks on the cape of Niutao,
Plucking hala and *hingano*.
Would it were a boat that was mended again,
Made all new to sail about
With me who am fallen down.
Angi-a-he
Alas, how 'tis cheerless.
What wonder that the thunder mutters.'
Angi-a-he
The lightning darts flashing through,
But I just lie and gaze.
Angi-a-he
The chief of the voyage had gone aboard,
And I shall go to unfriendly Pulotu,'
Angi-a-he
And leave the land of light.'
Farewell flocks of tern,
Angi-a-he
And another shall sit in my place
When there is fullness of oil and garland,
Angi-a-he
In the rivalry of the dance and song.
Do not blame me overmuch;
If there be one with a friendly thought,
Then weave the *heilala*,'
Bring pebbles of Fatailangalanga'
When I have gone on my lonely voyage;
Treat kindly my body and character"
When fate hath desired me,
Ho-he
Like a prairie of dried grass.
The boat is putting out,
Breakers engirdle the Sacred Reef,
White is the surf on Tuila and Hu-ngalau.
I love the cluster of Tongan hea trees,
Thicket of *makai* farewell. I am going,
Lolohea prepared for oil and mingled
Taken that they may bathe—
They do this or that, stand here and there,

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Tu'ula he tata'anga lei,
Ifi e kele'a ta moe vehi.
Pehe ni ha 'aho kou ma 'i heni;
Mate 'ofa he enau nofo holo,
Taupala 'e he taka tolo,

Tama 'ae fuifui pule'oto,"
'O tu'ula 'i he vao motelolo.
Angi mai angi he he-'ia
Langi faka-sinifu e nofo.

Light on the place where ivory is carved,
Blow the conch, beat the drum.
'Twas such a day that we were here;"
How I love their sitting about,
Frequenting of those who come to the games,"
The chief with necklace of *puleoto*,
And they gather amongst the *motelolo*."
Blow hither, blow, *he*, *he'ia*,
Choir of women farewell."

On the Death of the Tui Tonga

Very unfortunately the record of this very ancient poem has been mutilated. The effort to recover the missing lines from the memory of a very able Tongan who had read them was unsuccessful. Four lines and the greater part of a fifth are missing.

Neu tu'u 'i Langi-'e-he-tupua,
Mana-foli lupe otu fonua,

Na'i Mata-'o-peka mo Vei-tuna,
Faka'ofa 'e Malama-'i-saua,
Koe tu'i 'o mama mo 'otua.
Tanumanga ne tu'u moe tatau,

Tu'u ai 'Ala-'i-vaha-mama'o;
Koe Tu'a-niu hala kuo mao.

Na'i Lupe 'o Manono mo Fualu
Tu'u (he?).....evalu
(four lines)
Ko homau Tu'i ka maliu atu
'Oafio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u
'Ae toki pata 'e asihau
'I he ene taulalo 'a Vava'u.
Ho he.

I stood in Langiehetupua,'
Pigeons flew ominous throughout the lands,'
Ah, poor Mataopeka and Veituna,'
Malamaisaua moves pity,'
King of earth and a god.'
That which is buried was there with the screen.'
Alaivahamamao stood there;'
The Midrib-of-the-coconut-leaflet is dead, what a thing has happened.'
Dear Pigeon of Manono and Fualu'
Stood.....eight'
(four lines)
Our King is returning thither
To reign in Pulotutuumau."
Then the king's attendants rejoice"
When Vavau sinks out of sight."
Ho he."

Koe Takipo o Nau

When a very great chief dies fires are kept burning throughout the night round the house in which the body is lying. This ceremony, which is called *takipo*, has been witnessed twice on a large scale in Nukualofa during recent years, once on the death of Fatafehi, Tui Pelehake, in 1912, and again in 1918 when King George Tupou II died. During the nights in which the king's body was lying in state, the Palace enclosure was surrounded by hundreds of torches, tended by people who sat noiseless. Each light was burning over a little hearth, called *fakaolaanga*, formed of a tray (*pola*) of plaited coconut leaf, on which were laid pieces of the stem of the plantain tree, covered with a layer of sand. To bring the sand for this purpose is *fala mai ae one one*.

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but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.

2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeaepoto that they were equal in poetic skill.

3. Mamaeaepoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.

4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *kangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.

5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."

6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.

7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweethearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.

2. *Husi* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.

3. A slight emendation of *kotau* to *koto* would give "my" instead of "our." If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweetheart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.

4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.

5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.

6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.

7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.

8. The heilala (*Gardenia sp.*) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu kakala*.

9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. Fatailangalanga is the name of an unidentified place.

10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

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11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangomango* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *eualu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

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Pulotu into three departments, is it not possible that Pulotutuumau, which the poet regards as the destination of the Tui Tonga, may be a pleasanter place than Pulotuakaaka, to which Tukulua refers with evident repugnance. There is always the possibility of simply descriptive epithets being applied to the same Pulotu.

12. In *asi-hau*, attendants of the *hau* (king), it is interesting to have a clear example of the application of the word *hau* to the Tui Tonga. *Hau* indicates kingship, lordship actually manifest in power and rule, rather than chieftainship which is the prerogative of birth. In the later days of the Tui Tonga, when his power was becoming gradually overshadowed by the growing might of the Tui Kanokupolu, the word *hau* was more often used of the more powerful king, and on occasion even of other chiefs who happened for the time being to have won preeminence through military virtue.

13. As Vavau is the northern group of the Tongan islands, evidently the king's road to Pulotu takes him in a generally northerly direction. It is possible, however, that this is an echo of the Vavau that occurs so widely in Polynesian tradition as one of the stopping places in the migrations. Since the attendants rejoice when Vavau has sunk out of sight, it is to be presumed that they rejoice because they have entered on the last stage of the voyage to Pulotu. It is difficult to say whether the king is regarded as having already made the voyage to Pulotu, or as being about to make it. The only indication of time is given by *ka* in *ka maliu*, which usually marks future, or indefinite time. I have not heard a period assigned as elapsing between death and the departure of the spirit; but the tapu on a house in which a death has occurred is removed by sprinkling water in it a few days after the death; bodies of great chiefs are kept unburied longer than those of common people; funerary tapu for some high chiefs were kept in force for as long as a year; occasionally bodies were kept unburied for months, even for years, apparently as a mark of special affection.

14. Following *ho he* in the manuscript is "etc." Apparently there were other syllables in the refrain.

Pages 79-81. Koe Takipo o Nau

1. The opening lines refer to scenes pleasant in the life and friendship of Nau.

2. The *takafalu* is a tree. The bard and Nau used to sit in its shade.

3. This reference is not very clear and many interpretations are grammatically possible. *Tuoua* and *fihupalavalu* are the names of two kinds of mats, but may be the nicknames of two children who used to run in and out and ask to be taken to the sea to bathe. Or perhaps it is meant that Nau used to go in and out of the canoe house. Possibly Nau is the subject and reference is made to two children who used to ask to be taken to bathe. Or all the lines may refer to Nau, though why she should desire to be carried to bathe is not very clear. Still there are stories of chiefly girls who were not permitted to walk, and such stories must have some basis in fact. The difficulty of interpretation is not lessened by the fact that instead of *fafa* (both *a*'s short), the word may be read with the last *a* long, as in fact it is marked in the manuscript, and the meaning is then not "carry," but "grope, feel." When so many interpretations are grammatically possible it is impossible to decide without some information about Nau.

4. Koloa, an island and village of ancient fame. The Maui are said by a very good informant to have belonged originally to Koloa, but the exact relations of the names Vavau and Haafuluhao apparently are not very clear to modern Tongans.

Pages 81-82. Ulamoleka's poem on the death of Veainu

1. Makaunga is in Eua. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were together in Eua when the news of Veainu's death reached them.

2. Two different types of waves.

3. Ohonua is the head village of Eua. A deep gully (the "vale" in the text) runs down beside the village, and opens into the sea, forming a little boat harbor. Frequently boats are weather-bound here by the heavy sea running on the bar at the harbor mouth.

4. The reference is to Veainu. Finemua is a name for Falepapalangi.

5. Hunga is two steep, lonely rocky islets about twenty miles north of Tongatabu. Ulamoleka expresses distress and dismay at the death of Veainu, which was not unexpected when Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka left Tongatabu for Eua.